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ABSTRACT

This paper proposes that some but not all "I" causatives in Korean are analyzable, and argues that case markers in Korean are not merely surface phenomena, but are semantically and syntactically significant. The types of Korean causatives are introduced, as well as the major problems involved in their analysis. Previous generative works are summarized. The relationship between "I" and "ha" causatives is investigated; some syntactic and semantic properties of the two causatives are compared and utilized as criteria for evaluating the hypotheses considered. The phenomenon of surface case markers is also investigated, with particular attention to "ha" causatives, and the shapes of the underlying structures for the types of causatives are determined. (Author/AM)

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A STUDY OF KOREAN CAUSATIVES

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By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope and purpose of this study. While there seems to be general agreement that Korean ha-causatives are synchronically analyzable ('decomposable'), the nature of Korean I- causatives is still controversial. Some authors propose that the I-causatives are analyzable, while others contend that they are not. Both of these extreme positions, however, fail to explain the systematic relationship that exists between the agentiveness of noun phrases and the semantic interpretation of the I-causative construction.

In this thesis it is claimed that some but not all I-causatives are analyzable. A variety of evidence, both syntactic and semantic, shows clearly that it is not possible to derive all I-causatives from the same source. However, despite the fact that all ha-causatives and some I-causatives are analyzable, there is also sufficient evidence to conclude that these two types of causatives are everywhere distinct.

The current proposals concerning the case markers in Korean causative constructions share the view that the appearance of various case markers is purely a surface phenomenon. This view, however, fails to capture the significant contribution the case markers make in causative constructions.

The case markers are not only significant semantically, but they play an important role in providing clues to the structure of causatives. The frequently made claim accompanying the previous view that Subject Raising underlies the phenomenon of surface case markers is also found to be unjustified on both syntactic and semantic grounds.

Chapter I introduces different types of Korean causatives and presents the major problems involving an analysis, and summarizes the previous generative works. Chapter II investigates the relationship between I and ha causatives; some syntactic and semantic properties of the two causatives are compared and utilized as criteria for evaluating the hypotheses considered. Decomposability of I causatives is demonstrated. Chapter III investigates the phenomenon of surface case markers, with particular attention given to ha causative constructions, and determines the shapes of the underlying structures for the different types of causatives.

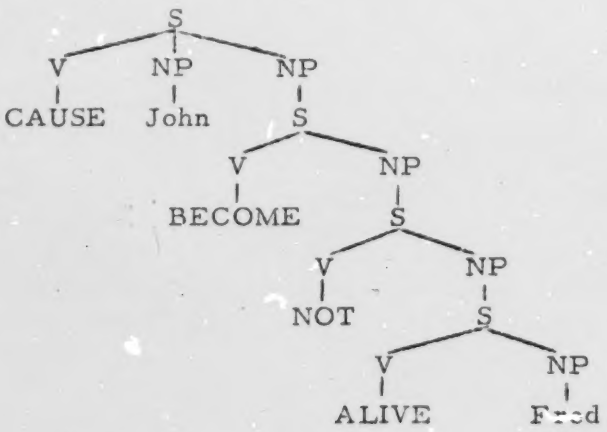
The validity of a transformational approach to language description is assumed; however, no prior assumption is made as to the superiority of one transformational approach over another. This study is semantically oriented and the approach is informal--no attempt is made to formalize rules. The ability of native speakers of a language to interpret and to detect semantic anomalies of sentences is assumed.

1.2 Why is causative an issue? The term cause describes that which produces an effect, result, or consequence. The term causation refers to the relation between a cause and an effect; logically, a cause must exist in order for an effect to occur. In the description of a natural language, causative normally designates a verb or verbal affix that expresses causation.

The proposal made by Lakoff (1965) and McCawley (1968b) that a causative verb such as kill is derived from a complex semantic structure which contains an abstract verb 'cause' has created much controversy. For example, McCawley provided a structure such as (2) for deriving sentence (1).

(1) John killed Fred.

(2)



The capitalized CAUSE, BECOME, NOT, and ALIVE represent abstract semantic material underlying the lexical items such as cause, become, not, and alive. In order to derive (1) from (2), two transformations are needed: Predicate Raising, which raises a lower predicate into the next higher predicate (e.g. (NOT(ALIVE)) into NOT-ALIVE); and lexical insertion or 'dictionary entry', which replaces a portion of a tree by various lexical items (e.g. (NOT-ALIVE) by dead). These transformations are termed 'prelexical' since they apply to trees that terminate in semantic material rather than in lexical material, and a structure such as (2) is a prelexical structure. The lexical item kill replaces CAUSE-BECOME-NOT-ALIVE by the process of lexical insertion after successive applications of Predicate Raising. McCawley stated that Predicate Raising is optional (pp. 73-4), and sentences (3a-d) are also derivable from (2):

(3) a. John caused Fred to become not alive.
b. John caused Fred to cease being alive.
c. John caused Fred to become dead.
d. John caused Fred to die.

The above proposal suggests two things: (a) single lexical items are derived from underlying phrases (e.g. kill from cause to die), and (b) sentence (1) is cognitively synonymous to or in paraphrase relation with the sentences in (3). According to Lakoff and McCawley, positing one prelexical structure such as (2) for the sentences in (1) and (3) is justified not only because it naturally expresses the semantic relation between the above sentences, but it readily accounts for the apparent ambiguity in (1) when an adverbial modifier such as almost is inserted:[1]

(4) John almost killed Fred.

The scope of almost can be captured by allowing for varying positions of almost in structure (2); (5) illustrates the three-way ambiguity of (4):

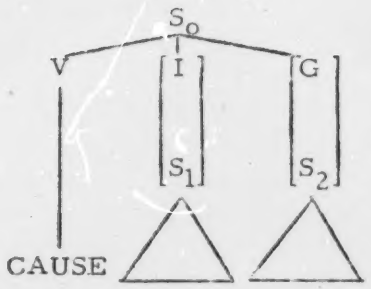
(5) a. John almost caused Fred to become not alive.
b. John caused Fred to almost become not alive.
c. John caused Fred to become almost not alive.

Another line of analysis related to and supporting the proposed derivation of kill from cause to die concerns the nature of cause and effect relations. Fillmore (1971) defined causation as a consequence relation between two events; the occurrence of one event is a causing event if it has the occurrence of another event as its consequence. Thus the sentence, 'I hit the ball over the fence', is analyzed as two events, my hitting the ball (a causing event), and the ball going over the fence (a resulting event). The events (clauses) are embedded in a higher predicate that has a meaning suggested by the word 'cause', predicating the event-causation relation between the two clauses (p. 46). A sentence such as 'John killed the rat' is analyzed by Fillmore as 'John's action caused the rat to die', with John's doing something as one event and the rat's dying as another (p.50).

This view is shared by McCawley who stated that a notion of causation 'is a relation between an action or event and event--not between a person and an event...' (1972:140) His earlier version of the analysis of kill (cf. 1968) was reinterpreted as DO CAUSE BECOME NOT ALIVE, where the higher verb DO represents the relation between agent and action.

Kastovsky (1973) also supported Fillmore's view of the event-causation relation in causative constructions. Referring to the field of word-formation and studies done by Marchand, he supported McCawley's proposed analysis of lexical items and the hypothesis of lexical decomposition. Kastovsky further developed Fillmore's conception of 'case', and proposed that the causing and resulting events should be represented as case functions of Instrument and Goal, respectively, with 'complex nodes containing the function they [events] serve with regard to the predicate and the category which expresses this function' (p. 280). (6) is a simplified version of his proposed underlying structure for causative constructions:

(6)



Notions such as prelexical structures and the derivation of kill from cause to die have met with strong disagreement from many linguists. Kac (1972) stated that the ambiguity resulting from sentences such as (4) is not that of a scope ambiguity, but rather the ambiguity in the verb kill, itself. He stated that a predicate can be construed 'as asserting actions or as asserting the achievement of result' (p. 120), and sentence (4) is two-ways, not three-ways ambiguous, with or without almost. As supporting evidence for this position he presented (7) which contains no element whose scope can vary, such as almost.

(7) It surprised me that John killed Fred.

According to Kac, it in (7) could refer to either John's action or a result of John's action. Since the basic ambiguity of (4) revolves around whether or not it is understood that an act was committed, he concluded that according to his action-result dichotomy there is no necessity for having prelexical structure, for the whole reason for having such a structure is to be able to break lexical items into smaller units so that elements like almost can be interposed (see (6)) to account for ambiguities (pp. 122-3).

The notion of event in a cause-and-effect situation is also important because the causing-event and effect-event can be distinct in time. Logically, a cause must precede an effect; it is hard to conceptualize a cause and the effect occurring simultaneously. One of the major arguments against the derivation of (1) from complex underlying structure with an abstract verb 'cause' is based on this fact. Fodor (1970:434) demonstrated the point with the following examples:

(8) Floyd caused the glass to melt on Sunday by heating it on Saturday.
(9) *Floyd melted the glass on Sunday by heating it on Saturday.

(9) is unacceptable because, as he puts it (ibid.), 'if you melt something, then you melt it when it melts'.

Shibatani (1972, 1973, MS) likewise argued, with respect to Japanese and Korean, that sentences such as (1) represent conceptualization of a single event involving a simplex underlying structure as opposed to sentences such as (8) which represent conceptualization of a series of events involving an embedding structure. Shibatani's arguments are discussed in greater detail in Chapter II.

The importance of the issue involving causatives is not just causatives per se, but rather that causatives can be utilized to test or to illustrate the hypothesis of lexical decomposition and paraphrase relations between items and phrases.

1.3 Types of Korean causative constructions. There are basically three types of causative constructions in Korean, differing from each other at least in their surface manifestations. The first type is an explicit causative construction with the higher verb ha 'do, cause, make'; the complement sentence is marked with the complementizer -key. The second type is also an explicit construction. The causative verb is derived from a non-causative predicate by means of the suffix -I.[2] The third type is an implicit construction involving verbs only semantically analyzable as causatives but not exhibiting any regular phonological relationship to non-causative verbs.

The first type will be referred to as 'phrasal causatives', the second type as 'suffixal causatives', and the third as 'lexical causatives'.[3]

1.3.1 Phrasal causative construction. This is a very productive construction in that -key ha can be used with any sentence to form a causative construction.[4]

(10) a. Yenghi-ka us-ess-ta.
Yenghi-SM laugh-Past-Dec
'Yenghi laughed.'

b. Chelsu-ka Yenghi-lul us-key ha-ess-ta.
OM CompCaus-Past-Dec
'Chelsu caused Yenghi to laugh.'

(11) a. Yenghi-ka say-os-lul ip-ess-ta.
new-clothes wear
'Yenghi wore the new clothes.'

b. emeni-ka Yenghi-eykey say-os-lul ip-key ha-ess-ta.
mother IO -OM -Comp Caus-
'Mother caused Yenghi to wear the new clothes.'

One-place and two-place predicates (10a and 11a) become two-place and three-place predicates, respectively, in causative constructions. A three-place predicate likewise becomes a four-place predicate, as in (12).

(12) a. na-ka Yenghi-eykey chayk-lul cu-ess-ta.
I-SM Yenghi-IO book-OM give
'I gave Yenghi a book.'

b. Chelsu-ka na-eykey Yenghi-eykey chayk-lul cu-key ha-ess-ta.
Chelsu-SM 1-IO Yenghi-IO book-OM give-Comp Caus
'Chelsu caused me to give a book to Yenghi.'

All phrasal causative constructions can also convey the meaning of permission in addition to causation. (12b), for example, could mean, 'Chelsu let me give a book to Yenghi'.

1.3.2 Suffixal causative construction. A large number of causative verbs are formed with the suffix -I, but this construction is not as productive as the phrasal causative construction. The suffixal causative constructions corresponding to the phrasal causative constructions of (10b) and (11b) are given below in (13) and (14). cu-key ha in (12b) has no corresponding suffixal form.

(13) Chelsu-ka Yenghi-lul us-I-ess-ta.
laugh-Caus-Past-Dec
'Chelsu caused Yenghi to laugh.'

(14) emeni-ka Yenghi-eykey say-os-lul ip-I-ess-ta.
mother-SM new clothes wear-Caus-Past-Dec
'Mother caused Yenghi to wear the new clothes.'

Some suffixal causatives have two meanings. For example, a sentence such as (14) is ambiguous, having another reading of, 'Mother dressed Yenghi with the new clothes'. The phrasal causative ip-key ha in (11b), on the other hand, does not have the meaning of 'to dress'. Thus, Yenghi must be an agent[5] in (11b), but need not be an agent in (14).

The Korean verbs meaning kill and melt belong to the suffixal causative group.

(15) a. kangto-ka cuk-ess-ta.
robber-SM die-Past-Dec
'The robber died.'

b. sunkyeng-ka kangto-lul cuk-I-ess-ta.
police-SM die-Caus
'The police killed the robber.'

(16) a. elum-ka nok-ess-ta.
ice melt
'The ice melted.'

b. Chelsu-ka elum-lul nok-I-ess-ta.
melt-Caus
'Chelsu melted the ice.'

There are some causative verbs in Korean which can be viewed as having a zero-suffix:[6]

(17) a. kikwansu-ka umciki-nun-ta.
conductor move-Pres-Dec
'The conductor moves.'

b. kikwansu-ka kicha-lul umciki-nun-ta.
train
i 'The conductor moves the train.'
ii 'The conductor makes the train move.'

In (17b), umciki 'move' in one interpretation is an 'inherently' transitive verb, and in the other interpretation it is a causative verb, as the translations show. It is interesting to note that umciki is also used in passive constructions with no change in form as shown below.

(17) c. kicha-ka umciki-nun-ta.
move (Pass)
'The train is moved (by someone).'

Other verbs belonging to this type are: kka 'gets thin, makes thin', katongkeli 'kicks', kalochay 'gets seized, makes seized', kkapulkeli 'moves up and down', kasi 'goes away, washes off', kkamccak 'keeps winking', kuchi 'halts', nayli 'comes down, takes down', etc.

1.3.3 Lexical causative construction. The Korean lexical causatives are verbs within which the meaning 'cause' is implicitly contained. This is equivalent to what Lyons (1968:352) refers to when he says, 'the relationship of the transitive to intransitive is "lexicalized"'. English words such as fell, show, convince, persuade, give, kill, melt, and cook[7] belong to this type. Most of these English lexical causatives are only expressable in Korean by either phrasal or suffixal causative forms. Roughly corresponding Korean forms are given below:

English Vint	causative	Korean Vint	causative
fall	fell	ssuleci	ssuleci-key ha[8]
see	show	po	po-I
believe / understand	convince / persuade	naptuk-ha	naptuk-ha-key ha[9]
die	kill	cuk	cuk-I
melt	melt	nok	mok-I
cook	cook	yoli-ha	yoli-ha-key ha[9]

The English word give may have the meaning of cause to have (or get), as in the context of (18) and (19):

(18) a. John gave Mary a cold.
b. John caused Mary to have a cold.

(19) a. George gave Bill a bloody-nose.
b. George caused Bill to get a bloody-nose.

The equivalent Korean word cu 'give', however, cannot be used in this sense. It can only be used if the person who does the giving actually possesses what he is giving.

(20) a. Yenghi-ka kamki-tul-ess-ta.
cold-have
'Yenghi has a cold.'

b. Chelsu-ka Yenghi-lul kamki-tul-key ha-ess-ta.
'Chelsu caused Yenghi to have a cold.'

c.*Chelsu-ka Yenghi-eykey kamki-lul cu-ess-ta.
cold give

(21) a. Yenghi-ka kophi-na-ess-ta.
nosebleed-bleed
'Yenghi has a nosebleed.'

b. Chelsu-ka Yenghi-lul kophi-na-key ha-ess-ta.
'Chelsu caused Yenghi to have a nosebleed.'

c.*Chelsu-ka Yenghi-eykey kophi-lul cu-ess-ta.
nosebleed give

While the phrasal causatives are fully predicatable and many verbs also take suffixal causatives, there are relatively few lexical causatives in Korean. Examples (22b) and (23b) below are further illustrations of lexical causatives.

(22) a. Yenghi-ka ka-ess-ta.
go
'Yenghi went.'

b. emeni-ka Yenghi-lul ponay-ess-ta.
send
'Mother sent yenghi.'

(23) a. meli-ka cala-ess-ta.
hair grow
'The hair grew.'

b. na-ka meli-lul kilu-ess-ta.
grow
'I grew (my) hair.'

1.4 Major problems. The following are the major problems in the analysis of Korean causatives.

Problem 1. What is the relationship between the phrasal causative and the corresponding suffixal causative? Are they paraphrases of each other?

Problem 2. How should the suffixal causative be analyzed? What is the nature of the suffix -I? Should the suffixal causatives be decomposed into a higher verb with a 'cause' meaning plus one or more lower verbs?

Problem 3. As mentioned before, certain sentences with the suffixal causative have two readings depending upon the agent of the action (see (14) and the subsequent discussion). What role does the notion of agent play in the suffixal causative constructions?

Problem 4. Should the lexical causative be decomposed? Can it be decomposed? For example, can ponay 'send' be decomposed into ka-key ha 'cause to go' or some other equivalent form?

Problem 5. In the phrasal causative construction, the expected surface case markers for the object NP are lul (CM) for two-place predicates and eykey (IO) for three-place predicates. However, this is not quite the case; all three surface case markers may occur.

(24) Chelsu-ka Yenghi-{ka / lul / eykey} us-key ha-ess-ta.
'Chelsu caused Yenghi to laugh.'

The above phenomenon is true of all three- and four-place predicates as well in phrasal causative constructions. What is the significance of the markers? Do they convey semantic differences?

Problem 6. Does the complementizer -key, as in V-key ha, have a semantic content of its own, and so deserve representation in the deep structure? Or is it merely a predictable surface form which can be introduced by transformation?

Problem 7. What underlying structures should be posited for Korean causatives? What are the criteria and what are the justifications for preferring one hypothesis over another?

The problems outlined above are crucial to understanding Korean causatives. The next section reviews the generative literature relevant to these problems.

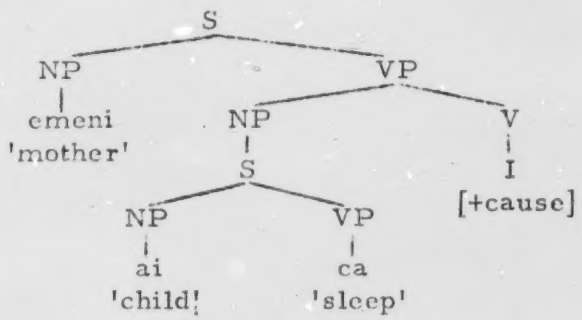
1.5 Previous generative works on Korean causatives. Song (1967: 187-208) and H. Lee (1970:197-208) analyzed suffixal causative constructions in particular. Song considered the problem of two possible readings of some suffixal causatives and stated that the causative suffix -I has two functions: a normal causative function in which the action of the verb is directed toward the eykey-phrase, and an 'obviative' (Song's term) function in which the action of the verb is directed toward the subject NP of the sentence. For example, sentence (25) has two readings (also see (14)):

(25) emeni-ka ai-eykey pap-lul mek-I-ess-ta.
mother child rice eat-Caus
i 'Mother caused the child to eat the rice.'
ii 'Mother fed the child.'

According to Song, the suffix -I has a normal causative function if reading (i) is obtained, with the action of mek-I 'cause to eat' directed toward the noun ai 'child'; but -I has an obviative function in reading (ii), with the action of mek-I 'feed' directed toward the noun emeni 'mother'. He treated obviative causatives as a subset of suffixal causatives and derived all suffixal causatives by means of a generalized transformation, i.e., the underlying structures involve embedded sentences.

H. Lee (ibid.) followed Lakoff's (1965) analysis of deriving kill from cause to die and simply assumed an embedded structure for the suffixal causative constructions, in particular, the object NP-complement construction. His underlying structure for (26) is as follows (p. 199).

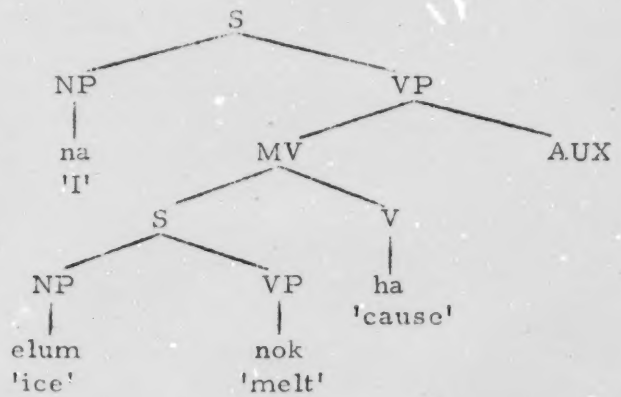
(26) emeni-ka ai-lul ca-I-ess-ta.
child sleep
'Mother made the child sleep.'



The NP-raising rule raises the subject NP of the embedded S, ai 'child', into the object position of the matrix S and the VP of the embedded S is raised to join the higher verb I. For the three-place predicate constructions (e.g. NP-ka NP-eykey NP-lul V-I) an extra NP is present in the matrix S under the VP node to denote the eykey-phrase. In this case an

equi-NP deletion rule applies to delete the embedded subject NP first, then the NP-raising applies (object-to-object-raising) followed by the extraposition. Everything works mechanically in this analysis, and the problems presented in the previous section concerning the suffixal causatives apparently were not considered.

Cook (1968) treated only phrasal causatives. In this analysis, the higher verb ha carries the meaning of 'cause' and the complementizer key has no meaning of its own, being inserted by a postcyclic transformation. An embedded sentence is treated as a VP-complement. A simplified version of his postulated underlying structure of (27) is given below.[10]



(27) na-ka elum-lul nok-key ha-ess-ta.
'I caused the ice to melt.'

The issue of surface case markers (see problem 5) is not mentioned.

Among those who have treated both phrasal and suffixal causatives, there exist two main hypotheses regarding the problems in section 4.0. No one has treated all the problems, however.

The first hypothesis, supported by Yang (1972:202-4) and C. Lee (1973b:129-47), is that a phrasal and the corresponding suffixal causative are paraphrases in at least one reading, and one underlying structure can be assumed for both types.

Yang claimed that the two causatives are complete paraphrases in their causative (as opposed to permissive) readings; the suffixal causative has an underlying higher verb ha [+cause] plus a lower verb. The complementizer key is present in the underlying structure and is deleted in the derivation of the suffixal causative. The subject NP of the embedded S is an Agent (in Fillmore's sense) which is raised to the matrix S, thereby taking the surface case marker eykey. According to Yang, the variations in the surface case markers have no significance; two optional rules operate to replace eykey by either lul or ka with no semantic change.

C. Lee, in favoring the first hypothesis, proposed to derive the two causatives from an abstract HA 'CAUSE'. According to Lee, sentences such as (28) and (29) both 'appear' to entail the resultant state represented by (30), and 'they appear to be cognitively synonymous ... Therefore, we come to the idea of positing in the underlying structure an abstract proverb HA ...' (p. 130).

(28) ai-ka nun-lul nok-I-ess-ta.
'The child melted the snow.'

(29) ai-ka nun-lul nok-key ha-ess-ta.
'The child caused the snow to melt.'

(30) nun-ka nok-ess-ta.
'The snow melted.'

The abstract HA is simply replaced by either the causative morpheme I or a lexical ha. In the case of I-replacement, a prelexical predicate raising transformation and certain (unspecified) constraints on lexical insertion are to be imposed. The complementizer is inserted transformationally for the ha-construction; the case markers were not discussed.

The second hypothesis is that the two causatives are not paraphrases, and accordingly two different underlying structures must be assumed. Park (1972:29-43) and Shibatani (MS) took this position but on different grounds.

Park based his position on the observation that in the phrasal causative construction the subject NP is always indirectly involved in the 'process-action' of the verb, whereas in the suffixal the subject NP is always directly involved. The determining factor in differentiating the two types of constructions lies in the lexical items ha and I; the underlying structures are identical in shape--both higher verbs ha and I take a VP complement. The complementizer key is considered to have no meaning of its own but is introduced in the underlying structure because it is lexically conditioned.

Shibatani (ibid.) supported the second hypothesis and criticized Yang on the ground that the phrasal causative is a linguistic structure expressing a conceptualization of a series of complex cause-and-effect events with an embedded type underlying structure, whereas the suffixal and lexical causatives[11] are a linguistic expression of a conceptualization of a single 'cohesive' event. Thus for the latter cases a simplex type underlying structure must be posited to represent a single event.

The views presented above are major positions taken in the analysis of Korean causatives. Although much work has been done, there are many unresolved issues. There are well-explicated but opposing positions

regarding topics such as the paraphrase relations between the two types of causatives and the decomposition of the suffixal causatives. Other topics, however, such as the phenomenon of the surface case markers in causative sentences have been given relatively little attention. The following chapters explore the controversial areas and seek answers to unresolved problems.

Notes to Chapter I

1. The observation of the ambiguity in (4) is credited to J. L. Morgan (1969). For a detailed discussion, see Kac (1972) and Shibatani (1972). Sentence (5) is given in Kac (p. 112), and re-cited in McCawley (1972:140).

2. The shape of the causative suffix varies; it can be i, hi, ki, li, u, etc., depending on the predicate to which it is attached. Apparently its shape is not conditioned morphologically or semantically. The capital letter I is used to designate the suffix, for convenience.

3. Various terms are used in other works (see section 1.5): 'periphrastic causative' (Shibatani), 'long-form causative' (Yang), and 'ha-causative' (others) for the first type; 'lexical causative' (Shibatani), 'short-form causative' (Yang), and 'I-causative' (others) for the second type; the third type is either explicitly stated or implied as belonging to the second type.

4. Martin's Yale Romanization (1967) is used in transcribing all Korean examples in this work.

An approximate English gloss accompanies each lexical item on its first appearance. No English translation cited is considered an exact equivalent of the Korean sentence; literal translations are given when necessary.

The following abbreviations and notations are used:

TM = topic marker	NP = noun phrase
SM = subject marker	VP = verb phrase
OM = object marker	N = noun
IO = indirect object marker	V = verb
Hon = honorific marker	Vint = intransitive verb
Dec = declarative marker	Vtr = transitive verb
Caus = causative	* = ungrammatical
Pres = present tense	Pass = passive
Comp = complementizer	Past = past tense

5. The term 'agent' is used in the sense defined by Fillmore (1968:77): the instigator of an event.

6. The sentences in (16) are taken from S. Lee (1970:44).

7. No assumption is made here as to the possibility or impossibility of decomposing these English lexical items. The English words melt and cook can be viewed as belonging to the zero-suffix type in English.

8. Instead of ssuleci-key ha, ssule-ttuli can be used. -ttuli is a bound morpheme meaning 'cause' but used only with verbs designating 'falling', 'tripping', or 'breaking':

John-lul neme-ttuli	'to make John fall'
John-lul cappa-ttuli	'to make John fall on his back'
John-lul ephe-ttuli	'to make John fall flat on his face'
yuli-lul kkay-ttuli	'to break the glass'

9. Certain nouns (usually Sino-Korean) plus ha 'do' regularly form verbs. naptuk 'understanding, realizing' with the verb ha forms the verb 'to understand, realize'. For these N+ha verbs, sikhi 'to cause' can be used instead of ha-key ha, but the meaning may not be the same.

naptuk-ha-key ha / naptuk-sikhi
kongpu-ha-key ha / kongpu-sikhi
'study'

For an analysis of sikhi and its relation to ha-key ha, see Yang (1972: 211-14) and C. Lee (1973b:142-7). Both treat sikhi as being synonymous to ha-key ha.

10. The tree diagram is an approximation made by following Cook's SD of the complementation of 'causative ha' transformation (1968:181).

11. The two are collectively called 'lexical' by Shibatani.

CHAPTER II

AN ANALYSIS OF TWO TYPES OF KOREAN CAUSATIVES

The issue of paraphrase relation between corresponding phrasal and suffixal causatives and the issue involving the decomposition of suffixal causatives are considered in this chapter. Implicational and presuppositional properties together with some other properties are compared, and it is argued that the two causatives are sufficiently different to warrant the positing of two separate underlying sources. The group treatments given to the suffixal causatives by other works are questioned, and the suffixal causatives are subclassified with the notion of 'agent' as determining factor. It is claimed that only a subclass of suffixal causatives are decomposable, and evidence supporting this conclusion is provided.

2.1 Phrasal vs. Suffixal causatives. There are two ways to express 'cause to laugh' in Korean: by using the phrasal causative construction as in (31a), or by using the suffixal causative construction as in (31b).

(31) a. Chelsu-ka Yenghi-lul us-key ha-ess-ta.
SM OM laugh-Cmp Caus-Past-Dec
'Chelsu caused Yenghi to laugh.'

b. Chelsu-ka Yenghi-lul us-I-ess-ta.
laugh-Caus-Past-Dec
'Chelsu caused Yenghi to laugh.'

Semantically the two sentences are very close, despite the overt structural difference. The causative us-I with the causative suffix -I has no corresponding form in English except a hypothetical word such as 'laughize'. That both sentences appear to be cognitively synonymous seems to favor the hypothesis of deriving the suffixal and phrasal causatives from the underlying source. However, Park (1972:33-42) pointed out that there is a subtle but clear difference between the two causatives: phrasal causative constructions involve indirect participation of the subject NP whereas the suffixal construction involves a direct commitment. He presented the following examples to support his conclusion.

(32) a. ?*mikun-ka welnam salam-lul M-16-ulo cuk-key ha-ess-ta.
American G.I. Vietnam people M-16-by means-of die-Comp Caus
'American G.I.'s caused the Vietnamese people to die by means of M-16's.'

b. mikun-ka welnam salam-lul M-16-ulo cuk-I-ess-ta.
'American G.I.'s killed the Vietnamese people with M-16's.'

Park observes that the killing instrument fits well in (32b) where the subject is directly committed to the process-action in question, but it does not fit in (32a) which requires the subject's indirect commitment, which is why the sentence is unacceptable. The two sentences, therefore, are not paraphrases.

Shibatani (MS:5-6) made a similar observation with respect to direct and indirect causation and stated that 'it is not appropriate for me to use ip-hi-ta "to dress" [suffixal] in reporting a situation where I wrote a letter to my nudist friend in Seoul to the effect that he should be more decent and wear clothes. However, it is perfectly appropriate for me to use ip-key ha-ta "to cause to get dressed" in the same situation.'[1]

In addition to the different contexts in which the two causatives are used, and some clear cases in which the two constructions cannot be considered synonymous, as discussed above, some properties of I and ha are compared below and are considered to be grounds for preferring the hypothesis of deriving the two causatives from different underlying sources.

Property 1. The verb ha is 'non-implicative' in Karttunen's (1971) sense of the term, while I has many of the implicative' properties. According to Karttunen English verbs such as manage, remember ('affirmative' verbs), and fail ('negative' verbs) are 'implicative' in the sense that the truth of their complements are implied. For example, (33a) implies the truth of (33b).

(33) a. John managed to solve the problem.
b. John solved the problem.

If both the main S containing the implicative verb and its complement S are negated, the sentence obtains an affirmative reading:

(34) a. John didn't manage not to solve the problem.
b. John solved the problem.

The 'abstract verb' I is in this sense implicative, for (35a) implies the truth of (35b), and (36) with the two negatives gives the sentence an affirmative reading.

(35) a. ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-I-ess-ta.
he I eat Cause
'He caused me to eat kimchi.'

b. na-ka kimchi-lul mek-ess-ta.
'I ate kimchi.

(36) ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul ani-mek-I-ci ani-ha-ess-ta.
Neg-eat-Caus-Comp Neg-do
'He caused me to eat kimchi.'
(Lit. He did not cause me not to eat kimchi.)

Note that the literal English translation of (36) does not have an affirmative reading, but the Korean sentence does. The property of I is different in this regard from the property of the English word cause. If the truth of the complement proposition is denied, the sentence becomes semantically anomalous, as in English sentence (37) and Korean sentence (38).

(37) *?John managed to solve the problem, but he couldn't solve it.

(38) *?ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-I-ess-una, na-ka (kimchi-lul) mek-ci ani-ha-ess-ta.
'He made me eat kimchi, but I didn't eat (kimchi).'

The verb ha, on the other hand, is 'non-implicative'. The (a) sentences in (39) and (40) do not necessarily imply the truth of the (b) sentences, nor is sentence (41) semantically anomalous.

(39) a. ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-key ha-ess-ta.
'He caused me to eat kimchi.'

b. na-ka kimchi-lul mek-ess-ta.
'I ate kimchi.'

(40) a. ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-key ha-ci ani-ha-ess-ta.
'He did not cause me to eat kimchi.'

b. na-ka kimchi-lul mek-ci ani-ha-ess-ta.
'I did not eat kimchi.'

(41) ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-key ha-ess-una, na-ka (kimchi-lul) ani-mek-ess-ta.
'(Although) he caused (=try to cause) me to eat kimchi, I didn't eat any.'

Also note that this non-implicative property of ha is different from that of the English cause. The English translation of (39a) implies (39b), but the Korean sentence does not.

The implicative property of I but not ha, is also reflected in tense and time adverbials; in (42), (a) implies (b), while (c) has two different time adverbials and is ungrammatical.

(42) a. ku-ka ecey na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-I-ess-ta.
yesterday

b. na-ka ecey kimchi-lul mek-ess-ta.

c. *ku-ka ecey na-eykey onul kimchi-lul mek-I-ess-ta.
yesterday today

Ha may have its own time adverbial different from that of its complement sentence, and it follows that the tenses in the matrix verb and the embedded verb can be different.'

(43) ku-ka ecey na-eykey onul kimchi-lul mek-key ha-ess-ta.
'He did something yesterday which caused me to eat kimchi today.'
(Lit. He yesterday made me eat kimchi today.)

It appears that if the abstract HA ('CAUSE') is assumed for both ha and I, as C. Lee proposed (see section 1.5.), the significant difference between the 'implicative' and 'non-implicative' property of the two causatives is not adequately captured in the underlying structure. Furthermore, the need to impose certain constraints on lexical insertion disappears if the two causatives are recognized as having different underlying sources.

Property 2. Some clear meaning differences are observed between the two causatives in negative constructions. In (44) the negative adverb mos is placed before the suffixal causative mek-I in (a), and after in (b).

(44) a. ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mos-mek-I-ess-ta.
cannot eat-Caus

b. ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-I-ci mos-ha-ess-ta.
eat-Caus Comp cannot
'He could not cause me to eat kimchi.'

Notice that the two sentences do not differ in meaning. With ha, however, the two sentences, (45) and (46), have different meanings depending upon the position of mos 'cannot':

(45) ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mos-mek-key ha-ess-ta.
cannot eat Comp Caus
'He did something so that I could not (or cannot) eat kimchi.'

(46) ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-key ha-ci mos-ha-ess-ta.
eat-Comp Caus-Comp cannot-do
'He could not cause me to eat kimchi.'

It is clear that the order of mos must be preserved in the phrasal causative sentences, for the meaning would be changed otherwise. With the suffixal causative sentences, as in (44), however, the negation element does not display the order-scope constraints that one would expect it to display. The two causatives clearly undergo different derivational processes, and recognizing the different properties of I and ha, in this respect, makes it possible to state the order-scope constraints in general

terms. That is, if the proposal made in this thesis (see section 3.4.1) that verb-raising applies only to the 'pure' auxiliary verbs is correct, the order-scope constraints can simply be stated to apply to those verbs that are not 'pure' auxiliary verbs. An attempt to derive the two causatives from the same underlying source, therefore, merely complicates the grammar by necessitating the imposition of additional derivational constraints on the phrasal causative constructions, which would be in any case predictable.

Property 3. The two causatives are different in their presuppositional properties. The following sentences and the subsequent discussion are based on C. Lee (1973a:384-5).[3]

(47) Chelsu-ka kil-lul cop-key ha-ess-ta.
road narrow
'Chelsu caused the road to be narrow.'

(48) Chelsu-ka kil-lul cop-I-ess-ta.
'Chelsu narrowed the road.'

Sentence (48) presupposes, but does not assert, the existence of the road. The presupposition of the previous existence of the road, i.e. 'there is a road', does not change under negation (Chelsu-ka kil-lul cop-I-ci ani-ha-ess-ta. 'Chelsu did not narrow the road.'). Contrary to (48), (47) does not presuppose the existence of the road and 'the causation can occur at the time of creation or building of the road (or even before that)' (p. 385). The verb ha in (47) can mean 'make' (build), 'create', etc., and in this sense it is a creation verb which entails the road's coming into being, but does not presuppose its existence. I and ha thus have basically different properties.[4]

Property 4. The verb ha can include various meanings such as 'cause, force, make, permit, and enable', depending on either the intention of the causal agent to carry out the act, or the nature (or inherent features) of the object. The fact that ha must occur with a complementizer which has a meaning 'in a way so that' (see section 3.3) also seems to be responsible for these various meanings. For example, sentence (49) has a natural interpretation of enabling, not of permitting.

(49) uysa-ka talipyengsin-lul ket-key ha-ess-ta.
doctor cripple walk-Comp Caus
'The doctor made (it possible for) the cripple (to) walk.' (The doctor did something in such a way that the cripple could walk.)

This interpretation of (49) is mostly due to the features of talipyengsin 'cripple', for other objects such as na 'I' can be substitued and the sentence could have any of the various interpretations the verb ha allows.

By contrast, the abstract causative I does not have the meanings of enabling. If key-ha in (49) is changed to I, as in (50), it has only the reading of forcing or making the cripple walk.

(50) uysa-ka talipyengsin-lul ket-I-ess-ta.
'The doctor caused the cripple to walk.'

(50) lacks the interpretation of 'providing circumstances for'. An adverbial, tasi 'again', if inserted in (49), gives the sentence more of an 'enabling' interpretation, but in (50) the reading becomes more of 'forcing' in the sense of 'insisting upon'.

While there are other properties that could be presented to differentiate ha from I, those mentioned in the preceding section seem sufficient to warrant the positing of two separate causatives for Korean.

2.2 Decomposition of suffixal causatives. A number of treatments of Korean suffixal causatives (e.g. Song 1967; H. Lee 1970; Yang 1972; Park 1972; C. Lee 1973a, b) have concluded that a complex underlying structure is appropriate. Shibatani (MS), on the other hand, has argued for a simplex underlying structure.

Supporting evidence provided by Shibatani concerns cases involving ambiguity in a given sentence. He presented and compared some phrasal and suffixal causative constructions, and came to the conclusion that phrasal causative sentences, which are clearly embedded type constructions, exhibit ambiguities in relation to the scope of adverbial modification, while suffixal causatives do not. Thus, (and as another counterexample to the generative semanticists' proposed lexical derivation (e.g. Lakoff 1965; McCawley 1968a, b, 1972)), Shibatani contends that Korean suffixal causatives do not come from a complex underlying structure.

Shibatani's conclusion, however, is very questionable; there are many suffixal causative sentences that do not confirm his position. It was noted in Chapter I that some suffixal causative constructions have two readings, and it is discussed below as a background for further analysis of suffixal causatives.

2.2.1 Subclassification of suffixal causatives. The sentences in (51) have two possible readings. In reading (ii), ai is an agent, while in reading (i) it is not.

(51) a. emeni-ka ai-eykey os-lul ip-I-ess-ta.
mother child clothes wear-Caus
i 'Mother dressed the child.'
ii 'Mother made the child wear the clothes.'

b. emeni-ka ai-eykey os-lul pes-I-ess-ta.
take off-
i 'Mother undressed the child.'
ii 'Mother made the child take off the clothes.'

c. emeni-ka ai-eykey sinpal-lul sin-I-ess-ta.
put on-
i 'Mother put the shoes on the child.'
ii 'Mother made the child put on the shoes.'

d. emeni-ka ai-eykey sakwa-lul mek-I-ess-ta.
apple eat
i 'Mother fed the child the apple.
ii 'Mother made the child eat the apple.'

Compare (51) with (52) where each sentence has only one reading, with ai as an agent.

(52) a. emeni-ka ai-eykey chayk-lul ilk-I-ess-ta.
book read
'Mother made the child read the book.'

b. emeni-ka ai-eykey kul-lul ssu-I-ess-ta.
letters write
'Mother made the child write the letters.'

c. emeni-ka ai-eykey ppalay-lul nel-I-ess-ta.
laundry spread
'Mother made the child spread the laundry.'

d. emeni-ka ai-eykey inhyong-lul tul-I-ess-ta.
doll hold
'Mother made the child hold the doll.'

In both (51) and (52), eykey may be replaced by lul, and the agentive and non-agentive readings remain the same. That is, (51) still has two readings and (52) one reading. A possible semantic difference between the eykey and lul constructions will be discussed in Chapter III.

There is another group of suffixal causatives whose behavior is still different from those in either (51) or (52).

(53) a. emeni-ka ai-eykey meli-lul kam-I-ess-ta.[5]
hair wash (hair)
'Mother made the child wash her hair.'

b. emeni-ka ai-eykey son-lul ssis-I-ess-ta.
hand wash
'Mother made the child wash her hands.'

c. emeni-ka ai-eykey meli-lul pis-I-ess-ta.
comb
'Mother made the child comb her hair.'

The sentences in (53) are similar to the sentences in (52) (e.g. with causatives ilk-I 'make someone read', tul-I 'make someone hold', etc.) in that there is only one reading and the eykey-phrase must be an agent. But (53) is also similar to (51), for when eykey is replaced by lul, as in (54), the sentences have a reading corresponding to reading (i) of (51), i.e. ai 'child' no longer is an agent but rather emeni 'mother' becomes the only agent of the sentence.

(54) a. emeni-ka ai-lul meli-lul kam-I-ess-ta.
'Mother washed the child's hair.'

b. emeni-ka ai-lul son-lul ssis-I-ess-ta.
'Mother washed the child's hands.'

c. emeni-ka ai-lul meli-lul pis-I-ess-ta.
'Mother combed the child's hair.'

Song (1967) called the causatives 'obviative' if the eykey-phrase is 'destinative' (i.e. non-agentive). Thus Song classified verbs such as those in (51) and (54) as obviative verbs and the suffix -I as an 'obviative affix'. He stated that the obviative causatives (an obviative verb plus an obviative affix) constitute a subset of the set of causatives because the 'obviative affix' and the 'causative affix' (which happen to be homophonous) are two different aspects of a single function of the causative formative. His definitions for causative relations are paraphrased below (p. 197).

Ordinary causative relations:

A causes (makes, lets, ...) B to do something;
which is equivalent to,

A causes X by (or through) B.

Obviative causative relations:

A does something to (or on) B;

which is equivalent to,

A causes X to (or on) B.

From these definitions, he formulated a generalized transformation which derived all the suffixal causatives from complex underlying sources.

Although Song's distinction is insightful, there is no need to recognize 'causative I' and 'obviative I'. Once two readings are recognized with respect to the eykey-phrase, I need not be considered as two homonymous forms or even as being ambiguous. The meaning difference arises in the eykey-phrase, not in I. It is not only counterintuitive to assign two meanings to I, but also the properties of I presented earlier in this chapter apply in identical fashion to the obviatives.

The different types of suffixal causatives discussed so far are illustrated below. The subject NP is always an agent with respect to a hypothetical higher verb 'cause'; who the agent is with respect to the 'lower' verb is the important differentiating factor.

	Examples	
Group I	ip-I pes-I sin-I mek-I	Reading (i): subject NP is the only agent. ('obviatives') Reading (ii): object NP is an agent.
Group II	ilk-I ssu-I nel-I tul-I	Only one reading: object NP is an agent.
Group III	kam-I ssis-I pis-I	(i) object NP is an agent with eykey-phrase. (ii) subject NP is the only agent with lul-phrase. ('obviatives')

The causatives subclassified above have three-place predicates, and the criterion used was whether or not the subject NP was the only agent of the sentence. The same criterion applies to and plays an important role in subclassifying the two-place predicates as well.

(55) emeni-ka ai-lul cha-ey tha-I-ess-ta.
mother-SM child-OM car-on get on board-Caus
i 'Mother loaded the child on the car.'
ii 'Mother made the child get on the car.'

Similar to the verbs of Group I (ip-I 'dress; make someone get dressed') the two-place predicate tha-I in (55) also has two readings. Corresponding to Group II are the sentences in (56) where ai must be an agent.

(56) a. emeni-ka ai-lul us-I-ess-ta.
laugh
'Mother made the child laugh.'

b. emeni-ka ai-lul ca-I-ess-ta.
sleep
'Mother made the child sleep.'

Lul in (56) may also be replaced by eykey. (57), on the other hand, has only one reading; a reading such as 'Mother made the child go up on the roof' is not possible.

(57) a. emeni-ka ai-lul cipung-ey olu-I-ess-ta.
roof-on go up
'Mother [lifted and] put the child on the roof.'

b. emeni-ka ai-lul cipung-eyse nayli-I-ess-ta.
from come down
'Mother brought the child down from the roof.'

The causatives in (57) correspond to Group III (ii). Other verbs belonging to this group are nok-I 'melt' and cuk-I 'kill'; lul may not be replaced by eykey, and the subject NP is the agent.

Suffixal causatives can thus be divided roughly into two classes: one in which the subject NP is the sole agent, and the other in which the object NP can also be an agent. Song's term 'obviative' will be adopted here to refer to the former class of causatives, and 'agentive' for the latter class.

2.2.2 Agentives as complex structures. It is clear that certain suffixal causative constructions have both an agentive and an obviative reading. In the preceding section the object NP of a sentence with the agentive reading was said to be an agent. That is, at least semantically the object NP must be an agent in order to carry out the act of 'reading', 'writing', 'putting on clothes', etc. It may not necessarily follow, however, that the agentive suffixal causatives should be decomposed. Although the English translations given for the agentive readings (e.g. 'Mother made the child read the book') imply that the object NP must be an agent, it could be viewed as 'Mother cause-read the child the book' with cause-read as one word. In favor of having simplex underlying structures for suffixal causatives, Shibatani (MS) argued that the object NP in suffixal causative sentences can never be an agent, regardless of the nature of the verbs involved. For example, in the suffixal causative us-I 'cause to smile' (or, more appropriately, 'cause-smile'), smiling is an activity, and the one who is engaged in the act of smiling must be considered an agent. But he stated that, 'this turns out to be a case where the linguist's rationality clashes with the reality of a working grammar' (p. 6) and concluded that suffixal causative sentences behave, grammatically, as if there is only one agent.

While a simplex underlying structure may be appropriate for the cases Shibatani examined, not all suffixal causatives behave the same way--grammatically or semantically. Sentences with the agentive reading have agent objects, and for these sentences embedded underlying structures are required. In addition to the semantic reasons mentioned thus far (i.e. two agents in one sentence), six syntactic arguments supporting this conclusion are given below. The first four arguments have to do with the scope of adverbs, and the last two arguments concern the 'tests for the presence of embedded subjects'.

Argument 1. Shibatani stated (MS:7) that for a structure having two underlying events with two agents, if a manner adverbial modifies the two different events, there is ambiguity as to which event the adverbial modifies. As is the case with the phrasal causative construction (58a), the suffixal causative construction (58b) is also ambiguous.

(58) a. emeni-ka ai-eykey chayk-lul ppalli ilk-key ha-ess-ta.
quickly
'Mother made the child read the book quickly.'

b. emeni-ka ai-eykey chayk-lul ppalli ilk-I-ess-ta.
quickly
'Mother made the child read the book quickly.'

In both sentences ppalli 'quickly' can modify either the event in which the mother is quick in making the child read the book, or the event in which the child's action of reading the book is quick. Other manner adverbs can be used and the same argument applies, but, depending on the kind of adverb, it may be more natural to associate the adverb with one event rather than the other. Consider chenchenhi 'slowly': it is more natural to associate slowness with the act of 'reading' than with 'causing to read'.

Argument 2. McCawley (1972:143-4) illustrated the decomposition of Japanese lexicalized causatives with durational time adverbials which modify not the entire clause but part of the complement of a hypothetical verb of causation. The following Japanese sentence is taken from McCawley.

(59) Boku wa musuko o gakkō ni sibaraku nokosita.
I son school for a while left
'I left my son at the school for a while.'

McCawley stated that the adverb 'for a while' is 'the length of time that the son is to be in school, not the length of time over which my action of leaving him there takes place'. The Japanese nokos- 'leave behind' has a corresponding intransitive verb nokor- 'remain'.

A parallel line of argument applies to Korean suffixal causatives.

(60) emeni-ka ai-eykey ppalkan-os-lul olaytongan ip-I-ess-ta.
red dress for a long time
i 'Mother dressed the child with the red dress for a long time.'
ii 'Mother made the child wear the red dress for a long time.'

olaytongan 'for a long time' in reading (i) refers to the length of time over which mother's dressing the child took place, but in reading (ii) it also refers to the length of time that the child is wearing the red dress. Other durational time adverbs such as tusikantongan 'for two hours', ithulkan 'for two days', etc. can be used with the same result:

(61) emeni-ka sikmo-eykey teleun cepci-lul tusigantongan takk-I-ess-ta.
maid dirty dish for two hours
'Mother made the maid wash the dirty dishes for two hours.'

The fact that these adverbs may modify only the lower verbs thus shows that the suffixal causatives can be decomposed.

Argument 3. A scope ambiguity arising from the instrumental adverbial phrase is further evidence for the embedding analysis of the suffixal causative construction.

(62) a. emeni-ka ai-eykey khal-lo koki-lul ssel-I-ess-ta.
knife-with meat cut
'Mother made the child cut the meat with the knife.'

b. kulayse ai-ka kulekhey ha-ess-ta.
so that way do
'So the child did so.'

c. kulayse ai-ka kep-i-na-se kulekhey ha-ess-ta.
be scared
'So the child got scared and did so.'

(62a) has two readings: the obvious one is, of course, that the mother instructed the child in such a way as to make the child cut the meat with the knife; the other (an unlikely one) is the case where the mother is threatening the child with a knife in her hand in order to make the child cut the meat. (62b) illustrates the situation resulting from the former reading, and (62c) the latter. The scope difference of the adverbial modification can be accounted for by providing the two underlying structures:

(i) (emeni (ai koki khal-lo ssel) I-ess-ta)
(ii) (emeni khal-lo (ai koki ssel) I-ess-ta)

Observe the grammaticalness of (63) in which the adverbial phrase appears twice.

(63) emeni-ka khal-lo ai-eykey koki-lul khal-lo ssel-I-ess-ta.

If (63) were to be a simplex sentence, khal-lo 'with the knife' would be associated with the subject NP emeni only, and (63) would be ungrammatical, since an instrumental adverbial associated with a single subject appears twice. (63) is not ungrammatical, for the second appearance of khal-lo is associated with the subject of the embedded sentence ai. Analyzing (63) as a simplex construction fails, therefore, to explain why the sentence with two instrumental adverbials is still grammatical.

Argument 4. There are two locative adverbial elements in Korean: -eyse 'at, in, on' which marks dynamic location, and -ey 'at, in, on' which marks the stative location. Suffixal causatives do not occur with -ey.

(64) emeni-ka pang-eyse (*-ey) ai-eykey pap-lul mek-I-ess-ta.
room-in
i 'Mother made the child eat the rice in the room.'
ii 'Mother fed the child rice in the room.'

Reading (i) of (64) is ambiguous because of the scope of the modification of pang-eyse; it can refer to the place in which the child's eating of rice occurred, or where the mother's making the child eat the rice took place. But in (65) -ey appears, and since only the dynamic locative adverbial -eyse can modify the suffixal causatives, the ey-phrase must be modifying only the lower verb.

(65) emeni-ka sikmo-eykey matang-ey ppallay-lul nel-I-ess-ta.
maid garden-in laundry spread
'Mother made the maid spread the laundry in the garden.'

matang-ey 'in the garden' modifies nel; the mother's making the maid spread the laundry is not what is taking place in the garden. Without decomposing nel-I into nel plus I, the occurrence of matang-ey cannot be explained.

Argument 5. This argument is based on the phenomenon of Korean reflexivization.[6] The Korean reflexive pronoun caki 'self' is coreferential with the subject of a sentence. That is, the antecedent must be the subject of a sentence. Japanese reflexivization is similar to that of Korean in this respect (see N. McCawley 1972; also see Shibatani 1972:132-4, 1973:359-60 for Japanese, and MS:14-6 for Korean). caki has no gender distinction but is restricted to human nouns.

(66) a. Chelsu-ka Yenghi-eykey caki-lul calang-ha-ess-ta.
brag about
'Chelsu bragged about himself to Yenghi.'

b. Yenghi-ka Chelsu-eykey caki-lul calang-ha-ess-ta.
"Yenghi bragged about herself to Chelsu.'

Korean reflexivization is different from English reflexivization in that Korean caki normally is coreferential with the subject of a sentence, whereas himself can be coreferential with either a direct or indirect object of a sentence. The following English sentences are ambiguous with respect to the antecedent of himself:

(67) a. John told George about himself.
b. John talked to George about himself.

Such ambiguity does not exist in Korean.

(68) Kim-ssi-ka Pak-ssi-eykey caki-ey tayhaye iyaki-ha-ess-ta.
Mr. Mr. about talk do
'Mr. Kim talked to Mr. Park about himself.'

Since caki can refer to the subject NP of any dominating S, i.e. reflexivization can take place across clause boundaries,[7] caki can bring about an ambiguity if a sentence has a complex underlying structure with two subjects.

(69) Pak-ssi-ka caki-lul salang-ha-nun yeca wa kyelhon-ha-ess-ta.
love do Cmp woman with marriage
i 'Mr. Park married the woman whom he loves.'
ii 'Mr. Park married the woman who loves herself.'

With the relative clause embedded in (69), the antecedent of caki can be either yeca 'woman' or Pak-ssi 'Mr. Park'. This fact is shown in the following highly simplified underlying structures.

(70) i) (Pak-ssi yeca (Pak-ssi yeca salang-ha)$_S$ wa kyelhon-ha-ess-ta)$_S$
ii) (Pak-ssi yeca (yeca yeca salang-ha)$_S$ wa kyelhon-ha-ess-ta)

If the suffixal causative constructions come from a complex source with two underlying subjects, the same type of ambiguity with respect to caki would be expected, and it is indeed the case.

(71) sensayng-ka haksayng-eykey caki-mes-taylo cakmun-lul ssu-I-ess-ta.
teacher student self-style-with essay
'The teacher made the student write an essay in self's own style.'

caki in (71) is ambiguous; it could refer to either sensayng or haksayng. In the former reading, the teacher is making the student write an essay following the teacher's own way of writing, and in the latter, the student writes with his own style.

(72) emeni-ka ai-eykey caki-uy meli-lul kam-I-ess-ta.
'Mother made the child wash self's hair.'

caki-uy 'self's' is also ambiguous in (72).

Argument 6. Korean has an honorific element si which reflects the speaker's deferential attitude ('I respect you') to a person mentioned as the subject of a proposition. This subject is not to be confused with the performative predicate of the speaker. si is inserted immediately after the verbal stem:

(73) emeni-ka chayk-lul sa-si-ess-ta.
mother book buy-Hon
'Mother bought a book.' (with the speaker's deference to Mother)

In a complex proposition with two underlying subjects, si appears twice if the speaker respects both subjects. This is shown in the phrasal causative construction in (74).

(74) Kim-kyosu-ka Pak-kyosu-eykey chayk-lul ilk-si-key ha-si-ess-ta.
Prof. Prof. Cmp
'Prof. Kim made Prof. Park read the book.' (with the speaker's deference to both professors)

Such speaker's deference is also reflected in the surface case markers; ka (SM) is replaced by kkeyse (SM with honor), eykey (IO) by kkey (IO with honor). Thus (75) is more appropriate than (74) when si is used:

(75) Kim-kyosu-kkeyse Pak-kyosu-kkey chayk-lul ilk-si-key ha-si-ess-ta.
(same reading as (74))

(74-75) is clearly a complex propositional construction with two subjects; Prof. Kim is the subject of the verb ha, and Prof. Park of the verb ilk. The fact that si does not appear after the verb stem if the I-suffix follows, yet may appear after the suffix, might be construed as an argument against deriving suffixal causative constructions from a complex underlying source.

(76) a. *Kim-kyosu-kkeyse Pak-kyosu-kkey chayk-lul ilk-si-I-si-ess-ta.
b. Kim-kyosu-kkeyse Pak-kyosu-kkey chayk-lul ilk-I-si-ess-ta.

However, observe that kkey, which shows the speaker's deference toward Prof. Park, still remains in (76b). This partly implies that with Prof. Park's status of the subject or agent of the verb ilk unchanged, si must have been deleted. Deletion or 'neutralization' of si is a common phenomenon in a construction in which more than one predicate is involved. (77) below, for example, is a complex construction involving three predicates with three si's.

(77) emeni-ka cang-ey ka-si-e-se sayngsen-lul sa-si-e-se kuk-lul
market go-Hon-and fish buy-Hon-and soup
kkuli-si-ess-ta.
boil-Hon-Past-Dec

(77), however, is very unnatural, and the first two si are normally deleted, leaving only one si after the last predicate. Thus, a sentence has only one si is not an indication that the sentence has a simplex underlying structure with one subject, as Shibatani contends, nor is a blocking device, as proposed by Yang, to constraint the appearance of si before the suffix I a necessary one.

2.2.3 Obviatives as simplex structures. The arguments which provide solid justification for the embedding analysis of the agentive suffixal causatives, such as the scope of adverbial modification and reflexivization, work at the same time against the embedding analysis for obviative causatives. For example, manner adverbs would refer to objects if the objects were agents (G. Lee 1970:42-3), but unlike in agentive constructions, manner adverbs such as ppali 'quickly' refer only to subjects in obviative constructions.

If obviatives were derived from complex structures, we would expect the scope of the adverb kecin 'almost' to vary in (78), thus creating ambiguities.

(78) a. kangdo-ka salam-lul cuk-I-ess-ta.
thief man
'The thief killed the man.'

b. kangdo-ka salam-lul kecin cuk-I-ess-ta.
'The thief almost killed the man.'

The scope of kecin 'almost', however, does not vary; kecin modifies the compound verb cuk-I, not just cuk 'die' or -I 'cause'. Thus, the event of killing has already started and ended (unsuccessfully) and it necessarily follows that the man is almost dead as well. (78b) does not have the meaning 'the thief almost [caused the man to die]', where the causing action has not even happened. For such a case, the defective noun ppen plus the verb ha 'come near; narrowly miss' must be used to express the situation:

(79) kando-ka salam-lul cuk-I-l ppen ha-ess-ta.
Comp come near
'The thief came near killing the man.'
('The thief almost killed the man.')

If kecin 'almost' is inserted in (79), the expression becomes either redundant or emphatic, but it still lacks the ambiguity one might expect. This is, therefore, a strong evidence indicating that obviatives are not derived from complex structures.

Obviatives, moreover, represent a single event with one action (cf. Fodor 1970 and Shibatani MS, as discussed in section 1.2). As an illustration, consider (80), with the obviative kam-I 'to wash'.

(80) a. emeni-ka ai-lul meli-lul kam-I-ess-ta.
'Mother washed the child's hair.'

Since meli 'hair' only refers to the child's, ai-lul meli-lul is equivalent to ai-uy ('s) meli-lul; the first lul can be replaced by the possessive morpheme uy:

b. emeni-ka ai-uy meli-lul kam-I-ess-ta.
's
'Mother washed the child's hair.'

Compare (b) with (c) which lacks the suffix I.

c. emeni-ka caki-uy meli-lul kam-ess-ta.
self's
'Mother washed her hair.'

The causative kam-I in (80a-b) is no different from kam in (c) as far as the action of washing is concerned, for Mother does the washing in both cases. Since (c) is clearly a single event with kam as one action, so is (a-b) with kam-I. [8]

Suppose that kam-I were to be decomposed by regarding it as a change of state verb. It appears, then, that kam in (80c) should also be decomposed, for if 'Mother caused the child's hair to become washed' is a plausible analysis of (b), then analyzing (c) as 'Mother caused her hair to become washed' is also plausible. This means that kam is to be decomposed into kam plus I, where the decomposed version is more complicated than the original one. Moreover, kam-e ci 'become washed' in the 'embedded' clause is not grammatical, but rather, kam-I-e ci is. But it brings about a difficulty in decomposing, since I appears again in the 'embedded' clause, as is the case with other obviatives. This necessitates the embedded verb to be decomposed again, thus creating an unending series of decomposition.

A variety of evidence presented in this chapter clearly shows that the agentives are derived from a complex underlying source, and the obviatives from a simplex one. It is thus claimed here that the causative suffix -I is a part of single lexical items for the obviatives; whereas it is a separate higher verb for the agentives.

Notes to Chapter II

1. In making comparisons between the two types of causatives, the examples of suffixal causatives cited by both Park and Shibatani are what Song (1967) has called the 'obviatives' (see section 1.5), i.e. ip-I 'to dress' rather than 'to cause to get dressed'. However, all suffixal causatives are used only in the context of direct causation; ip-I 'to cause to get dressed (or 'cause-wear')' is still more direct than ip-key ha 'to cause to get dressed.

2. This ha after Neg would be like the English do as in 'I do not like it', although not everyone would agree with this view.

3. The English translations given in the examples might not capture the presuppositional differences of Korean; it is not clear whether the English phrase cause to be narrow and the English verb narrow differ in presupposition.

4. This conclusion is not that of C. Lee's, who proposed to posit the same source for both I and ha.

5. Whose hair is referred to is ambiguous because of the complete absence (deletion) of the coreferential NP in the Korean sentence. In a simplex sentence such as (A), meli can only refer to the child's hair:

(A) ai-ka meli-lul kam-ess-ta.
'The child washed her hair.'

The deletion of the coreferential object NP (or the possessor of the object NP) is almost obligatory with verbs like kam. The ambiguity in (53) is not relevant to the present discussion. Korean reflexivization is discussed in section 2.2.2.

6. See Chapter II of C. Lee's thesis (1973b) for a more extensive treatment of Korean reflexivization.

7. There may also be cases in English where reflexivization can take place across clause boundaries. This apparently is the case when 'picture nouns' such as description of, picture of, etc. are involved. For a summary of the arguments related to this issue, see Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (to appear).

8. This is not to claim that ai (or emeni) -uy meli 'child's (or mother's) hair' may not have its own complex underlying source.

CHAPTER III

SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF KOREAN CAUSATIVES

The significance of case markers in causative contexts is investigated in this chapter. Despite the assumption shared by recent generative works that causative constructions which vary only in object case markers are synonymous, it is shown that such synonymy is not found; meaning varies as the case markers vary. In this regard, the frequent claim that subject-raising operates in causative constructions is found to be unjustified on both syntactic and semantic grounds. A possible method of making seemingly subtle semantic distinction between different causative constructions is suggested, and a proposal is made for the appropriate semantic structures for Korean causative constructions.

3.1 Surface case markers in causative constructions. The following sets of examples illustrate the case markers for the object NP which may occur in the suffixal (81) and phrasal (82) causative constructions.

(81) na-ka kui- { *ka (SM) / lul (OM) / eykey (IO) } us-I-ess-ta.
I he laugh-Caus
'I caused him to laugh.'

(82) na-ka kui- {ka / lul / eykey} us-key ha-ess-ta.
Comp Caus
'I caused him to laugh.'

The variation in markers as shown above is possible regardless of the transitivity or intransitivity of the lower verbs. There seems to be one general constraint on eykey in both types of causatives--it is allowed only with human (or personified) NP's.

(83) kwahakca-ka pi- {ka / lul / *eykey} o-key ha-ess-ta.
rain come
'The scientist caused the rain to come down.'

(84) na-ka kay- {ka / lul / ??eykey} o-key ha-ess-ta.
dog come
'I caused the dog to come.'

The following sections investigate the phenomenon of case markers; special attention is given to the occurrence of ka in phrasal causative constructions.

3.1.1 Previous treatments of case markers. There has been no controversy in accounting for the variation in case markers, for no one has treated it in any detail except Yang (1972).[1] Other analyses (e.g. Cook 1968, Park 1973, C. Lee 1973b) simply raise the embedded subject into the object position of the matrix S by way of subject-raising, then an appropriate case marker (depending on the (in)transitivity of the lower verb) is attached by transformation. This method is applied to both types of causatives.

H. Lee's analysis differs slightly from the others in that subject-raising operates only if the lower verb is intransitive. If the lower verb is transitive, he provides an extra NP in the matrix S and the embedded subject is deleted by way of Equi-NP deletion. His underlying structure is roughly as follows (1970:119-20):

(85) a. na-(ka) [ai-(ka) us]$_S$ I-ess-ta
I child laugh

b. na-(ka) ai-(eykey) [ai-(ka) pap-(lul) mek]$_S$ I-ess-ta
rice eat

This treatment, like the others, still fails to predict the appearance of eykey with the intransitive causative and lul with the transitive causative.

Yang's analysis (1972:203-8) agrees with the others so far as the subject raising rule is concerned. In his underlying structure, the embedded subject for causatives is an Agent ('instigator of an event').[2] The phrasal causative construction is the underlying structure from which the corresponding suffixal causative is derived. (86) approximates Yang's postulated underlying structure for both (81) and (82):

(86) na [kui us-ess-ta]$_S$ key ha-ess-ta$_S$
I he laugh

The embedded subject NP is raised to the matrix S and takes the Agent marker eykey. An optional 'Accusative Intrusion' rule may replace eykey with lul. In order to account for the Nominative marker ka in the phrasal causative construction, the following optional rule is postulated (p. 208):

(87) SCM [special case marking] for Long-Form [phrasal] Causatives (opt)
SD: $[NP + K]_A + [NP - Agt]_A - X + \underline{ha} + Y$
[+cause]
1 2 3
SC: 1, 2, 3, = 1, Nom, 3

Notice that under this proposal all raised NP's are allowed to take the marker eykey. This proposal thus incorrectly predicts that pi 'rain' in (83) with eykey is grammatical. The optional lul-replacement rule also incorrectly predicts that sentences such as (88) and (89) with kui-eykey and ai-eykey are grammatical.

(88) na-ka kui-{lul / *eykey} cuk-I-ess-ta.
die
'I killed him.'

(89) na-ka ai-{lul / *eykey} cipung-ey olu-I-ess-ta.
roof-to go up
'I put (cause-go up) the child on the roof.'

3.2 Proposed treatment of case markers. While all of the analyses presented above assume that the three case markers are transformationally related and that they are the products of subject-raising, there is strong reason to doubt this assumption. In the remainder of this section syntactic and semantic evidence will be presented which indicates that the eykey/lul- and ka-constructions are basically different. Also, differences between the eykey- and lul-constructions will be delineated.

3.2.1 eykey/lul vs. ka.

Equi-NP deletion. For sentences with complement verbs such as mal-ha 'tell', Equi-NP deletion deletes the embedded subject NP which is coreferential with the object NP in the matrix S.

(90) a. emeni-ka Yengsu-eykey [cal ha-ess-ta] -ko mal-ha-ess-ta.
'Mother told Yengsu that he did well.'

b. emeni-ka Yengsu-eykey [ku-ka cal ha-ess-ta] -ko mal-ha-ess-ta.
mother he well do-Past -Comp tell
'Mother told Yengsu that he did well.'

D.S. [emeni-(ka) Yengsu-(eykey) [Yengsu-(ka) cal ha-ess-ta]$_S$ ko mal-ha-ess-ta]$_S$

In (90a) the embedded subject Yengsu has been deleted, being coreferential with Yengsu in the matrix S. (90b) shows that Equi-NP deletion is not fully obligatory; Yengsu is replaced by the pronoun ku 'he'.

Notice that the causative sentences (91a-b) also have the pronoun ku and are grammatical.

(91) a. na-ka Yengsu-eykey ku-ka kuk-lul kkuli-key ha-ess-ta.
b. na-ka Yengsu-lul ku-ka kuk-lul kkuli-key ha-ess-ta.
c.*na-ka Yengsu-ka ku-ka kuk-lul kkuli-key ha-ess-ta.
'I caused Yengsu to boil the soup.'

The grammaticalness of (91a-b) with the presence of the pronoun ku shows the possibility that Yengsu is present in the matrix S in the underlying structure and is the antecedent for ku. The ungrammatical sentence (91c) indicates that eykey/lul and ka could not be related by an optional transformation since if either eykey or lul in (91a-b) is replaced by ka, the resulting sentence is (91c). If it is the case the the eykey/lul phrase is in the matrix S, then the ka-phrase cannot be.

Adverbials. In complex constructions some adverbs may modify either the matrix verb or the lower verb, possibly creating ambiguity.

(92) nan-nun ku-eykey cacu nolleo-lako mal-ha-ess-ta.
I TM he often visit Comp tell
i) 'I often told him to visit me.'
ii) 'I told him to visit me often.

In (92) Equi-NP deletion deleted the embedded subject ku-(ka) 'he'. The adverb cacu 'often' may modify either of the two verbs, thus making (92) ambiguous.

Suppose that the ka, eykey, and lul-phrases all have undergone subject-raising in causative constructions. Then the situation would be either (a) or (b) as shown in (93):

(93) a. [na-nun ku-$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ka}\\ \text{eykey}\\ \text{lul}\end{matrix}\right\}$ [cacu nolleo]$_S$ often visit -key ha-ess-ta]$_S$

b. [na-nun ku- {ka / eykey / lul} {cacu / often} [nolleo]$_S$ -key ha-ess-ta]$_S$
Caus

Therefore an ambiguity is predicted in all three cases. However, for the ka-phrase there is no ambiguity. Suppose that the ka-phrase has not undergone subject-raising. Then (93c) would be the only case, and no ambiguity is predicted.

c. na-nun [ku-ka cacu nolleo]$_S$ -key ha-ess-ta.
'I made him visit me often.' (He visits often.)

The non-ambiguity of the causative constructions with ka- phrases can be observed with any adverbs that could modify either of the two verbs. An example with the temporal adverb achim-puthe 'from morning' follows:

(94) a. na-ka sikmo- {eykey / lul} achim-puthe il-lul ha-key ha-ess-ta.
'I made the maid work from morning.'
(1, my causing started from morning; 2, the maid works from morning)

b. na-ka sikmo-ka achimputhe il-lul ha-key ha-ess-ta.
'I made the maid work from morning.'
(The maid works from morning)

Semantic cohesion. In his analysis of Korean 'auxiliary' verb constructions (1973), Sohn demonstrates the close semantic 'cohesion' ('the state of sticking together between two elements more tightly than either with a third, as in molecular attraction' (p. 65)) between the embedded verb and the cooccuring 'auxiliary' (in this case, ha 'cause; permit') verb. Directly relevant to the present discussion is his observation on the difference between eykey/lul- and ka-phrases in the closeness of their ties with the embedded verb. The following sentences (95-96) are taken from Sohn (pp. 71-2). (Some spelling changes have been made.)

(95) a. na-nun ku pun-ka o-key ha-ess-ta.
b. na-nun ku pun-lul o-key ha-ess-ta.
c. na-nun ku pun-eykey o-key ha-ess-ta.
'I made (or let) him come.'

According to Sohn, ku pun 'he' is the agent of o 'come' alone in (95a) without any direct semantic relation to ha, whose agent is na 'I'. There is a close semantic tie between ku pun and o in (95a), whereas in the other two sentences there is a close tie only between the compound o-key ha and ku pun. He supported his observations with the fact that ku pun and o in (95a) may not be separated by any intervening element, but this is not the case with (95b) and (95c). Thus the following sentences with ka-phrases are ungrammatical:

(96) a. *na-nun ku pun-ka # o-key ha-ess-ta.
b. *ku pun-ka na-nun o-key ha-ess-ta.
c. *na-nun ku pun-ka caknyen-puthe o-key ha-ess-ta.
'since last year'

The ungrammatical sentences in (96) are a strong indication that there is a close semantic tie between the ka-phrase and the embedded verb. If eykey or lul replaces ka, the sentences in (96) become grammatical, therefore indicating that the eykey/lul-phrase and the embedded verb are not closely tied. Sohn's observation on the difference in semantic cohesion is a piece of evidence supporting the view that the eykey/lul-phrase, but not the ka-phrase, is in the matrix S in the underlying structure.

On permission.[3] There can be subtle differences within the notion of permissiveness. In one sense it can connote an 'indirect' permission, that is, actual permission is not given but no action is taken to prevent something from happening. In another sense it connotes a 'direct' permission.

(97) a. na-nun haksayng tul-ka i kyosil-eyse tampay-lul pi-key ha-ess-ta.
I-TM student Pl. this class-in cigarette smoke
'I let the students smoke in this class.' (indirect)

b. na-nun haksayng tul-eykey i kyosil-eyse tampay-lul pi-key ha-ess-ta.
'I let the students smoke in this class.' (direct)

c. na-nun haksayng tul-lul i kyosil-eyse tampay-lul pi-key ha-ess-ta.
'I let the students smoke in this class.' (direct)

The English translations do not show the differences, but (97a) has the meaning of 'indirect' permission with the implication that the subject (of ha) did not do anything to prevent the students from smoking; thus a sentence with the ka-phrase gives sense of indirectness with respect to the action referred to by the verb ha. On the other hand, (97b-c) give sense of 'direct' permission, with the implication that the subject gave explicit permission to the students to smoke in the classroom. The action referred to by the verb is directed toward the eykey/lul-phrase, thereby reflecting a closer tie between the eykey/lul-phrase and the verb ha than between the ka-phrase and ha. This observation is another piece of evidence supporting the view that the eykey/lul-phrase, but not the ka-phrase, is present in the matrix S in the underlying structure.

On both syntactic and semantic grounds, then, the ka-causative construction is basically different from the lul/eykey constructions; the ka-phrase is a member of the embedded S, whereas the lul/eykey-phrase is a member of the matrix S. Furthermore, there is no evidence to indicate that the subject-raising rule operates in causative constructions.

3.2.2 eykey vs. lul. Kuroda (1965), in discussing the case marker problem in Japanese causatives, states that there are two particles, ni (cf. Korean eykey) and o (cf. Korean lul), which are allowed to occur in causative constructions involving the morpheme sase (a causative auxiliary) with causative-derivatives of 'intransitive' verbs. According to Kuroda, there is a semantic difference between the 'ni-causative' and the 'o-causative' and the two are not fully synonymous: in ni-causatives the action by the constituent subject is done willingly; whereas in o-causatives the subject of the matrix sentence is indifferent to the willingness or consent of the constituent subject.[4]

Yang (1972:207) discusses and rejects Kuroda's claim on the ground that it is not semantically supported for Korean (and for Japanese); the adverb ekci-lo 'by enforcement, against one's will' is equally compatible with both causatives (98a and b) and they are synonymous. (98) is taken from Yang:

(98) a. John-ka Mary-eykey ekci-lo us-key ha-nun-ta.
'John causes Mary to smile against her will.'

b. John-ka Mary-lul ekci-lo us-key ha-nun-ta.
'John causes Mary to smile against her will.'

Both sentences are acceptable but not in equal degree. Ekcilo is not as compatible with the eykey-phrase as it is with the lul-phrase. It seems that the lul-phrase goes more naturally with stronger causation, i.e. forcing, and the eykey-phrase goes more naturally with weaker causation, i.e. permitting. If ekci-lo 'against one's will' were to be omitted from (98), then, under normal circumstances the most natural reading of (98a) would be a permissive one.

The pattern of the eykey-phrase being associated with weaker causation is also demonstrated in suffixal causatives. In (99), the most natural readings of (a) and (c) are permissive ones.

(99) a. na-ka ai-eykey us-I-ess-ta.
I child laugh-Caus

b. na-ka ai-lul us-I-ess-ta.

c. ?*na-ka ai-eykey ul-I-ess-ta.
cry-Caus

d. na-ka ai-lul ul-I-ess-ta.
cry-Caus

(99c) is unacceptable because giving the child permission to cry is strange. But notice that (99d) with lul is perfectly grammatical, for it has a natural causative reading. The permissive meaning in the above sentences is not in the sense of 'let' or 'not preventing', for the action of giving permission is directed toward someone. If it were the case that (99c) had a meaning of 'I didn't do anything to prevent the child from crying', it would not be unacceptable.

This transition from weaker to stronger causation is seen in all types of causatives. The determining factor seems to be the role of the NP; the eykey-phrase is associated with the notion of agentiveness and the lul-phrase with the object (not having the will to resist causation.)

Supporting the above view are certain suffixal causatives (cf. Chapter II, Group III).

(100) a. na-ka ai-eykey son-lul ssis-I-ess-ta.
I child hand wash
'I caused the child to wash his hands.'

b. na-ka ai-lul son-lul ssis-I-ess-ta.
'I washed the child's hands.'

The change from eykey to lul results in considerable meaning change, to the extent that ai, which is an agent of the lower verb in (100a), is treated as a part of an object in (100b).

There is another piece of evidence indicating that the view taken above is correct. Korean has a lexical causative verb sikhi 'to cause someone to do something', whose usage is confined to constructions containing certain nouns (usually Sino-Korean N's) plus ha 'do'. Such nouns are, among others, kongpu 'study', simpulum 'errand', soce 'cleaning', and il 'work'. Thus a causative counterpart of (101a) is (101b).

(101) a. na-ka kongpu-lul ha-ess-ta.
'I studied.'

b. emeni-ka na-eykey kongpu-lul sikhi-ess-ta.
'Mother made me study.' (or 'Mother told me to study.')

C. Lee (1973b:143f) observed that sikhi is a verb necessitating a Goal NP (eykey-phrase) with the action of the verb directed toward someone. He also stated that eykey can be replaced by lul, but it results in a different meaning. Specifically, a sentence such as (101b) with eykey does not necessarily entail (101a), but with lul it does. What this indicates is that the eykey person has a will to resist causation, while the lul person does not. Since the verb sikhi remains the same, the meaning difference must be attributed to the markers eykey and lul.

It is not accidental that in all causatives a change from eykey to lul, and the corresponding change in meaning, are consistent--there is an underlying regularity which can be captured and treated systematically. Recall that eykey is not allowed with non-human NP's in some cases (cf. (83-84)) nor with some human NP's (cf. (88-89)). This constraint or eykey does not seem to be a surface constraint but rather a semantic 'agent' constraint. Considering these factors, the lul-phrase can best be treated as an object (in Fillmore's sense of the term; 1968)[5] and the eykey-phrase as an experiencer, tentatively defined as an NP toward

which the action of the higher verb is directed and which is a potential agent. The following informal chart illustrates the proposed method of accounting for the semantic differences among causative constructions represented in the surface case markers.

phrasal causative constructions

	in matrix S	in lower S
NP-eykey	experiencer	agent
NP-lul	object	agent (if human) object (otherwise)

agentive suffixal constructions

NP-eykey	experiencer	agent
NP-lul	object	agent

obviative suffixal constructions

NP-eykey	experiencer	agent
NP-lul	object	agent

obviative suffixal constructions

NP-eykey	goal (=destination)
NP-lul	object goal (for Group III causatives)

3.3 Semantic content of complementizer. Only a brief comment will be made on methods of introducing the complementizer key. There are basically two approaches that can be taken: introduce it transformationally because it is considered to be devoid of meaning (e.g. Cook 1968; C. Lee 1973a, b); or introduce it in the deep structure either because it is lexically conditioned (e.g. Park 1972) or because it has a semantic content of its own (e.g. Yang 1972; Sohn 1973). The position taken here favors the latter approach; key not only has its own semantic content but also its appearance is not fully predictable. Since both Yang and Sohn have given convincing arguments for this position, only a few relevant points will be quoted below.

Yang (1972:13-7) presents many pairs of sentences in which all the elements except for complementizers are identical in their forms and meanings, yet the pairs have different meanings. That all complementizers in Korean have their own semantic content is argued in general. One of his examples is given below (p. 16).

(102) a. John-ka sal-ko iss-ta.
live-Comp exist
'John is living at the same place.'

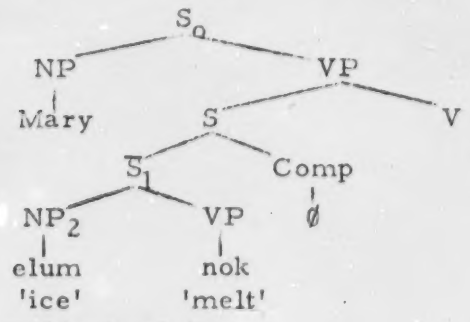
b. John-ka sal-A iss-ta.
live-Comp exist
'John is still alive.'

As numerous Korean linguists have noted, an original function of key is as an adverbializer (i.e. V+key is an adverb: yengliha-key 'cleverly', aphu-key 'painfully', etc.) with the meaning 'in a way that' or 'so that'. Sohn (1973:79) shows that key can be replaced by other adverbials such as tolok 'to the point where, so that' and by the compound key-kkum 'so that indeed' with slight differences in meaning resulting.

Although key is the most commonly used complementizer with the verb ha, since other complementizers may appear and their appearance is not fully predictable, they should be introduced in the underlying structure. No independent justification will be presented here for this position, however.

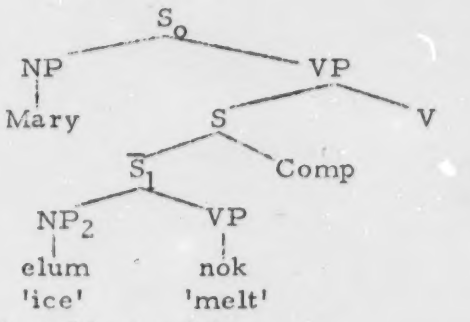
3.4 Proposals concerning underlying structures. Among those analyses which included both suffixal and phrasal causatives, the proposal made by Park (1972) and Shibatani (MS)[6] stands in contrast with the proposal made by Yang (1972) and C. Lee (1973b). The former favors the positing of separate underlying structures for suffixal and phrasal causatives, while the latter posits the same structure for both types. The comparison of the syntactic and semantic properties of I and ha in section 2.1 has made clear the necessity of distinguishing the two causatives in underlying structure. However, the proposal developed throughout this work differs considerably from Park's and Shibatani's with regard to the shapes and treatments of the constructions. The underlying structures proposed by Park (1972:41, 36) for suffixal (103) and phrasal (104) causatives are given below to exemplify the points in which this work departs from previous ones.

(103) suffixal



1. subject raising
2. Chomsky Adjunction to combine nok with I

(104) phrasal



1. subject raising
2. lowering of the Comp down to the lower VP
3. Chomsky Adjunction to combine nok-key with ha

Five aspects of Park's and the other linguists' proposals are discussed below. The first three are aspects which have not yet been discussed in this work but which nevertheless have relevance, and the last two are short summaries of conclusions already drawn in this work. Tree diagrams are then presented.

3.4.1 Verb-raising. A verb-raising rule (or Predicate Raising), which adjoins the lower verb to the matrix verb to form one unit under a single node, is unwarranted for phrasal causatives. The verb ha 'cause' is an auxiliary verb in Korean in a sense that it obligatorily has a sentential complement in the deep structure.[7] Since it is generally true that most auxiliary verbs undergo a verbal compounding process,[8] the claim that the verb ha also undergoes compounding is questionable. For example, the negative adverbs mos 'cannot' and ani 'not' are not allowed between the lower verb and any higher auxiliary verb other than ha:

(105) *na-ka kimchi-lul mek-e {mos / ani} po-ess-ta.
eat Comp (try--ing)
'I {couldn't / didn't} try eating kimchi.'

The negatives must come either before mek or after po, with no change in meaning. But in phrasal causative (106), the negative insertion does not make the sentence ungrammatical:

(106) ku-ka na-eykey kimchi-lul mek-key {mos / ani} ha-ess-ta.
eat-Comp
'He {couldn't / didn't} make me eat kimchi.'

Also moving the negatives before mek changes the meaning of the sentence; only mek is in the scope of negation. This fact cannot be accounted for if verb-raising is to be imposed on phrasal causatives. Suffixal causatives, on the other hand, follow the same constraints as other auxiliary verbs.

3.4.2 The node dominating the embedded S. The case marker lul occurs after an embedded S which is dominated by an NP:

(107) na-nun [[pi-ka o] -ki] -lul kitay-ha-ess-ta.
S Comp NP
rain come wish
'I wished that it would rain.'

Observe the occurrence of lul in the phrasal causative construction (108):

(108) na-ka ku-eykey kimchi-lul mek-key-lul ha-ess-ta.
I he eat
'I made him eat kimchi.'

But lul never occurs in the suffixal causative construction:

*na-ka kui-eykey kimchi-lul mek-lul-I-ess-ta.
'I made him eat kimchi.'

Contextual particles such as nun 'only concerned', to 'also, even', and ya 'at least, of course' which are normally suffixed to NP's occur in phrasal, but not in suffixal causative constructions.

(109) a. na-ka kui-eykey kimchi-lul mek-key-{nun / to / ya} ha-ess-ta.

b.*na-ka kui-eykey kimchi-lul mek-{nun / to / ya}-I-ess-ta.

These particles are all basically nominal particles and the fact that they occur after certain embedded clauses is an indication that these clauses are nominalized. A grammar could be simplified also, if the rule which introduces these particles can simply be stated that these particles occur after NP's only.

3.4.3 The Comp-node for suffixal causatives. There is no motivation for postulating the node Comp for suffixal causatives. Ø-complementizer is semantically empty and has no syntactic function. Also, the applicability of verb-raising can be stated in terms of not having an intervening Comp node. It follows then that the node for a complementizer is necessary only for those constructions in which verb-raising is not applicable.

3.4.4 Case roles in causative contexts. As shown in section 3.2, case markers play an important role in causative contexts. In this regard it was shown that the subject-raising rule[9] is not well motivated in Korean causatives for both syntactic and semantic reasons; an Equi-NP deletion rule instead appears to operate. The ka-phrase was demonstrated to be in the embedded S, while the lul- and eykey-phrases are in the matrix S. There exists no synonymy between the ka-, eykey-, and lul-constructions, and in order to capture the semantic differences presented in the phenomenon of the case markers discussed, it was proposed that the ka-phrase be viewed as an agent of the embedded S, the lul-phrase as an object, and the eykey-phrase, as defined in section 3.2.2, as an experiencer of the higher S.

3.4.5 Simplex/complex in suffixal causatives. Shibatani (MS) considered all suffixal causatives to have a simplex type underlying source, while Song (1967), H. Lee (1970), Yang (1972), Park (1972), and C. Lee (1973a, b) treated them as having a complex type underlying source. The analysis in Chapter II differs from previous analyses in classifying suffixal causatives into two major classes; one in which the subject NP is the sole agent (obviatives) and the other in which the subject NP is the

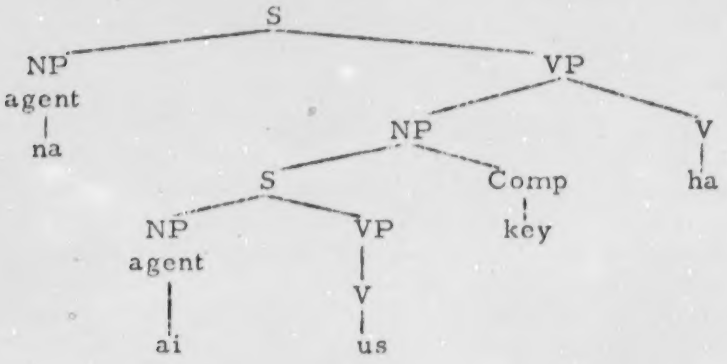
agent of the verb 'cause' but the object NP is the agent of the lower verb (agentives). The former was treated as having a simplex type underlying source, and the latter a complex one.

3.4.6 Representative tree diagrams. The underlying structures based on the above five proposals are presented below for some exemplary causative constructions. The higher verbs I and ha should be considered as representing semantic features. The case roles agent, object, goal, and experiencer are represented in the underlying structures for the purpose of illustration; the tree diagrams are considered to be one of many possible ways of representing semantic structures.[10]

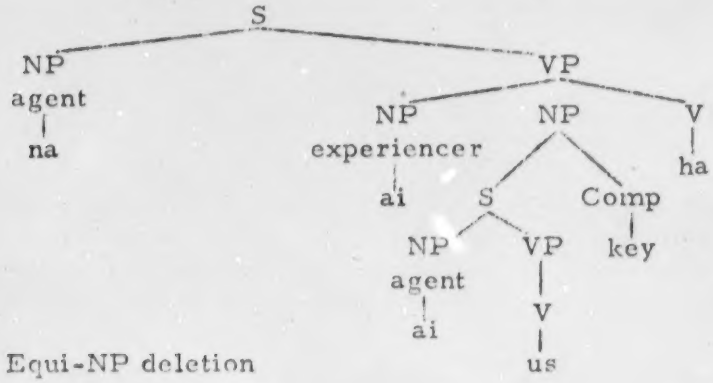
(110) phrasal

The distinction among ka (a), eykey (b), and lul (c) is made by the case roles agent, experiencer, and object, respectively. The embedded sentence is dominated by the node NP, and the complementizer is introduced in the underlying structure. For (b) and (c), Equi-NP deletion deletes the embedded subject ai which is coreferential with the matrix object. Neither subject-raising nor verb-raising applies in phrasal causative constructions.

a. na-ka ai-ka us-key ha-ess-ta.
'I caused the child to laugh.'

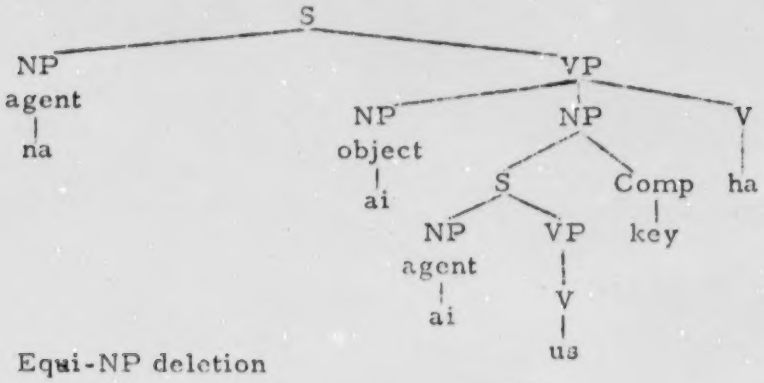


b. na-ka ai-eykey us-key ha-ess-ta.



Equi-NP deletion

c. na-ka ai-lul us-key ha-ess-ta.

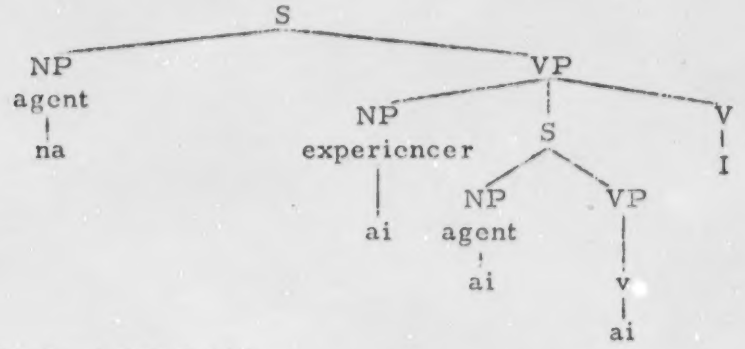


Equi-NP deletion

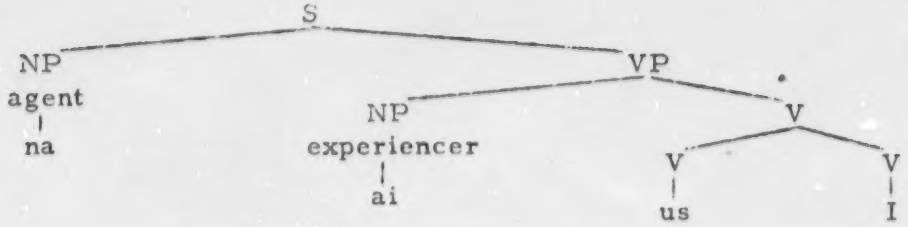
(111) suffixal: agentive

The agentives are decomposed in the lower verb plus the higher verb I. As is the case of phrasal causatives, Equi-NP deletion rather than subject-raising applies. Verb-raising adjoins the lower verb to the higher verb I. The embedded S is directly dominated by VP, thus differing from the NP domination of phrasal constructions.

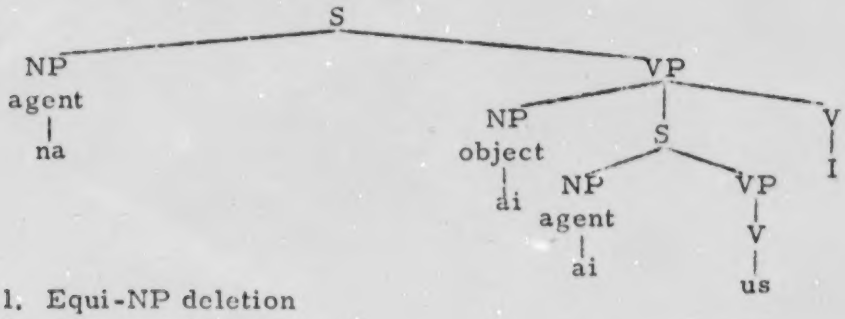
a. na-ka ai-eykey us-I-ess-ta.
'I caused the child to laugh.'



1. Equi-NP deletion
2. verb-raising



b. na-ka ai-lul us-I-ess-ta.

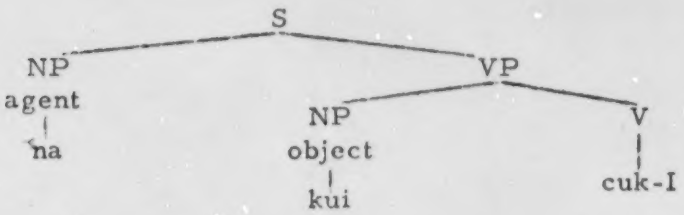


1. Equi-NP deletion
2. verb-raising
   (same derivation as (111a))

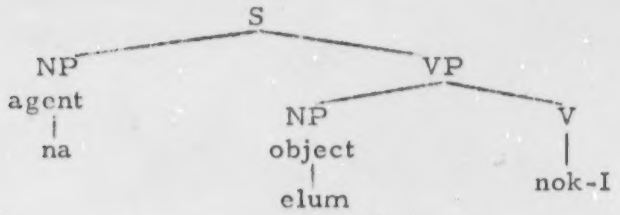
(112) suffixal: obviative

The obviatives differ from the agentives in that they are not decomposed; the causative suffix I is a part of the unanalyzable lexical items. The obviatives have a simplex rather than complex underlying source.

a. na-ka kui-lul cuk-I-ess-ta.
   he die-Cause
   'I killed him.'

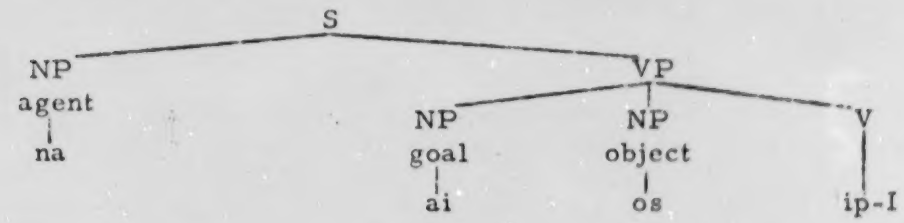


b. na-ka elum-lul nok-I-ess-ta.
   ice melt-Cause
   'I melted the ice.'

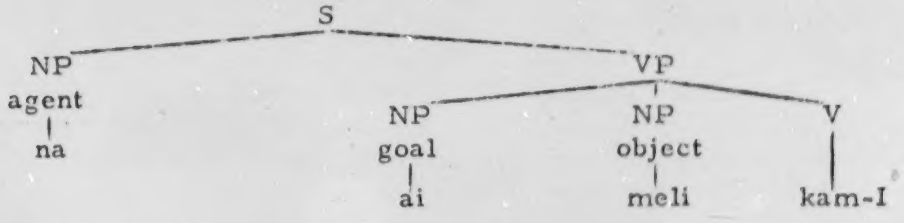


While the eykey-phrase is an experiencer in agentive constructions, it is denoted as a goal in obviative constructions. Since eykey in (c) may be replaced by lul within its obviative reading (see section 2.2.1), a transformational rule would be necessary to relate the goal eykey-phrase and the goal lul-phrase. The semantic distinction between lul (d) and uy (e) in constructions involving verbs such as kam-I 'wash' is represented by treating ai 'child' as a goal in (d), and as a part of the object in (e).

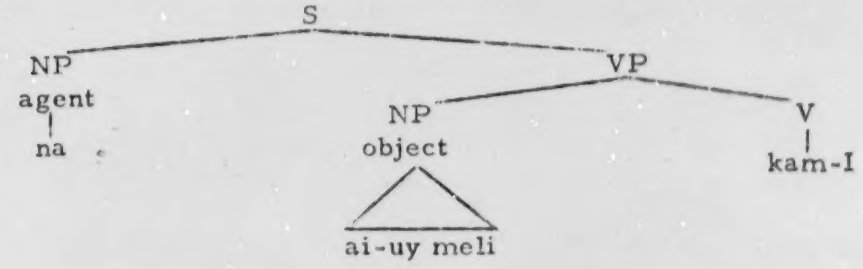
c. na-ka ai-eykey os-lul ip-I-ess-ta.
I child clothes wear-Caus
'I dressed the child.'



d. na-ka ai-lul meli-lul kam-I-ess-ta.
hair wash-Caus
'I washed the child's hair.'



e. na-ka ai-uy meli-lul kam-I-ess-ta.
's hair
'I washed the child's hair.'



Notes to Chapter III

1. This statement applies to those previous works reviewed in Chapter I.

2. It is not clear from Yang's analysis whether he does consider all embedded subjects for causatives as Agents. His examples and rules indicate that it must be the case; tentatively it will be so assumed.

3. This section is motivated by a discussion held in Korean Syntax class (Spring, 1974) led by Dr. Ho-min Sohn. I am indebted to everyone who gave their native intuition concerning the (non)permissive reading of 'ka-causative' construction. Special thanks go to Choon-Hak Cho, who provided example (97), and also to Han-Kon Kim, Kee-Dong Lee, and Young-Key Kim-Renaud, who all made many helpful comments. Not everyone agrees to the position taken in this section, however.

4. See Inoue (1972), Kuno (1973:291-308), and Shibatani (1973) for discussion of Japanese causatives. All basically agree with Kuroda. Kuno makes a further distinction between 'make-causative' (ni) and 'let-causative' (o). Shibatani distinguishes the two by the involvement in causation; the 'o-causative' involves more "direct and coercive causation" than the 'ni-causative'.

This might be an appropriate place to make one remark on the comparison between Korean and Japanese causatives. Japanese sase is somewhat similar to Korean key ha in that it is very productive and can be used with almost any verb; sase is also similar to Korean -I in that it is a bound morpheme and cannot appear without being preceded by the stem of some other verb, and it also changes forms in certain contexts. This observation was made possible by the analysis Kuno gave of sase (see Kuno 1973:297).

5. Object is defined as the entity that moves or changes or whose position or existence is in consideration.

6. While I will disagree with a number of aspects of his work in this section, of those analyses I have reviewed, Park's is considered to be superior. A distinguishing feature of his analysis is the positing of two separate lexical items, I and ha. Shibatani, without referring to Park's work, also recognizes the necessity for distinguishing the two causatives in the underlying structure, but his analysis does not go beyond this point, for the specifics concerning underlying structures are not treated.

7. See Sohn (1973) for the definition of and discussion on Korean 'auxiliary' vs. 'main' verbs.

8. See Yang (1972:Chapter 3).

9. For an extensive discussion of Subject Raising in Japanese and English, see Kuno (1972). Especially noteworthy is his comment (p. 25) that 'Subject Raising is not a common transformational device in SOV languages'.

10. No attempt is made to justify the VP-node. For the issue involving the VP-node, see Hinds (1973) and Schwartz (1972). Tense and detailed derivations are omitted.

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